A DECLARATION OF HIS HIGHNES, By the Advice of HIS COUNCIL; SHEWING THE REASONS Of their Proceedings For SECURING the PEACE of the COMMONWEALTH, Upon occasion of the late INSURRECTION AND REBELLION.

Wednesday, October, 31. 1655.

Ordered by His Highness and the Council, That this Declaration be forthwith Printed and Published.

Hen. Scobel, Clerk of the Council.

EDINBURGH, Re-printed by *Christopher Higgins*, in *Harts*-Close, over against the Trone-Church. MDCLV.

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A *Declaration* of His Highneſs, by the Advice of His Council, Shewing the Reaſons of their proceedings for ſecuring the Peace of the Commonwealth, upon occaſion of the late Inſurrection and Rebellion.

AFter it had pleaſed God to give ſo clear a Deciſion of thoſe Conteſts, which the Well-affected People of this Nation for many years together had with the late King, and his Party, and thoſe who after him eſpouſed that Intereſt, and engaged upon the ſame bottom, That the Adverſaries were wholly vanquiſht, and both their Perſons and Eſtates, through the gracious diſpenſations of God, ſubjected to the power of thoſe whom they had deſigned to enſlave and ruine; It was hoped that, that viſible hand of God, which appeared againſt them in the War upon all occaſions, would have had ſuitable impreſſions, and been ſufficient to convince them of the error of their way, and engaged them to deſert it, with thoſe Principles of Licentiouſneſs and Prophaneneſs, which the Heads and Leaders of that Party had long endeavoured to debauch the Nation with, and ſo obliged them not only to live peaceably under that Power, which they were ſo eminently by the Providence of God brought under, but laying aſide the remembrance of former differences, to endeavour in their ſeveral capacities, the carrying on, and maintaining the Peace and good of the Whole, eſpecially if they ſhould ſee an end of their troubles, and themſelves put into ſuch a condition, that they might not be liable to future revenge for what was paſt, but might be free both in their Eſtates and Perſons equally with other men. And therefore as it was moſt evident, aſwel by their being admitted at firſt to compound for their Eſtates, as alſo in the tearms of their Compoſition (which were ſo eaſie and moderate to the generality, as that it led them to a better condition of ſupport than generally befell the Parliaments Party, conſidering their many and large Payments to maintain a long and expenceſull War) That the Original Intention of thoſe who had then the Conduct of Affairs, was not to extirpate theſe men with deſigns of poſſeſſing their Eſtates and

Fortunes, but at first only to defend their Liberties, and after to deprive them of those Arms wherewith they designed to enslave themselves, and the whole Nation, leaving them in that condition after they were overcome, as they might live in their former qualities, enjoying their Estates and equal Protection with those whom they had endeavoured to destroy; (A proceeding very extraordinary, if compared with that which other Nations in all Ages have endured after a like disappointment by Civil War, who have held it for a principle, That Settlement after such Commotions is obtained and conserved by a total disabling the very inclinations of those in times of Peace, whose actions have been dangerous in War; And in this Nation in former Ages, loss of Life, and Confiscation, having been very usually the Consequences in the like Cases) We say, as the clear Intentions of the Parliaments Party were discovered and manifest in their first proceedings with their Enemies, to wit, That they designed not their Ruine, but Reformation: So after the Battel of *Worcester*, upon that memorable day of the Third of *September*, when the hopes of the Enemy seemed to be wholly broken, having neither Forces in the Feild, nor Garrison left in *England*; And *Scotland*, which until then, might be some ground of Confidence to them, and of danger to Us, so far subdued that no considerable Enemy was left there; which also was the condition of *Ireland*, when al things were reduced into that state & condition, that as these men could in reason have but small, or no hopes of any change of affairs, or new opportunities to assert their old Cause; So had we, through the continued Assistance and Presence of God, no ground to fear any new Attempts from them, that might oblige Us to any base and unworthy Compliance with them: All endeavours were used on this side, to lay Foundations of composing the Spirits, and uniting a broken and divided People, through a ten years War: There was not only a punctual performance of Articles of War, the like whereof no History can parallel, (A Court being purposely erected to do them Justice in that particular, and the Power thereof entrusted in such hands, who (as was intended in their choice) did execute it effectually on their behalf) but an Act of Grace and Oblivion was granted to them; Which favour, as they could not have any pretensions to claim, or indeed expect, So neither could the Makers thereof have any other Motives or Arguments to induce them thereunto, but such as must proceed from the desires they had to heal and cement, and to take away all seeds of difference and separation, and of putting what was past into Oblivion, by means whereof the hearts of the Nation, unhappily divided, might chear-

fully

fully and affectionately meet in mutual Interest; on which might follow Peace, Settlement, and Reformation; and consequently the Taxes and Burdens which have been long continued, might be safely taken from off the People.

Upon these Grounds also was it, that so great respect was had to this sort of men in the Settlement of the present Government, wherby they were admitted after three Parliaments, to be Elected to sit in the Supream Councils of the Nation.

It is true indeed, some opposition was made to that lenity which was used towards this Party, and more especially to the Act of Oblivion, many being of this perswasion, That it would not work those good Effects as were designed and wished, but on the contrary, that all this indulgence would be abused, and opportunities given thereby of raising new troubles, to the endangering of the Cause We had so long contended for; wherein yet the Parliament it Self were of a different Judgement from them, conceiving it impossible that there should be any sort of men so devoid of Ingenuity and Candor, or so resolved in their way, that neither the Dispensations of God, nor Kindness of men, could work upon them; However, it was thought, That in case they were mistaken, and that it should so fall out in fact, and upon experience, that those who were by the mighty and outstretcht Hand of the LORD, brought into a condition to ask favour, to solicite for the blotting out the remembrance of past actions, and to be restored to the Common Priviledges of the Nation, which they had justly forfeited, should yet dispise and reject it when it was offered, and retain their enmity after that they had been forced from their Arms, It would then have this effect at least, The leaving of such without excuse in whatsoever ways of severity the State should be necessitated to proceed with them in, for providing for, and securing the Peace of the Nation, when ways of tenderness were by them rendred ineffectual to those ends: And We do acknowledge, unless the carriage towards them had been such as is before expresst, We could not with Comfort and Satisfaction to Our Selves, have used the Course We now see We are obliged to take against the Persons and Estates of that Party, for securing the Lives, Liberties, Peace and Comfort of all the well-affected People of these three Nations.

But it having pleased God in his providence so to order things, that there was not onely forbearance, and moderation used towards them, and hopes given that they might enjoy their Freedom, and have equall protection in their Persons and Estates with the rest of the Nation, but they

might claim it as their Right, and as due unto them by the Laws and Constitutions of the Land, as well as any person whatsoever who had been of this side; There can be no other Construction made of the Actings of that Party, to the disturbance of the Publick Peace, and to the subversion of the Government, but that they are implacable in their malice and revenge, and never to be drawn from their adhering to that cursed interest, which hath been the occasion of the shedding of so much innocent blood, and almost of the ruin and destruction of these Lands. And therefore We do not now onely find Our self satisfied, but obliged in duty, both towards God and this Nation, to proceed upon other grounds then formerly, with those who shall deserve this Character; and the Articles of War, Act of Oblivion, and other favours tendered, yea, granted to these men, are so far from lying in Our way, or begetting scruples in Our mind, concerning the same, That Our hands are strengthened from thence to this work, and many doubts removed thereby, which otherwise would have stuck with Us, as We have before expresst.

It will not be denyed, That as well the Articles of War, as the favour and grace granted by the Act of Oblivion, contained in them a Reciprocation. As there did a reall benefit and advantage accrue to the Grantees, so certainly was there a good intended and designed by them to the State. If the State do not attain their end, neither ought the other to accomplish theirs. In such Acts as these are, either both are bound, or both are at liberty, and in the same condition, as if no such thing had been done or acted; certainly none have signed to Articles of War, that are not conditionall, or when those who received those Articles, resolved to break the conditions, they had not then the consent of those who gave them, Who did ever allow such Articles to Enemies, as might assist them to execute their malice and revenge? If no breach of faith can make a forfeiture of Articles, the condition of those who receive them, is better than of him that gives them, because he submits himself to surprize, after he hath endured the hazard and expence of open War.

And as for the Act of Oblivion, That must needs be meant as an Obligation upon the Enemy, and as a proper means to take away the Enmity contracted by the War, intending by mercy to reform those who had opposed themselves to the publick welfare; and this need not be expressed. It doth imply such a condition in the nature of it; all pardons are granted with clauses of good behaviour, either explicite or implied, because else who ever grants them, lets loose a Delinquent to a future offence, and he that

answers

answers not the end and consideration of the pardon, cannot in reason be said ever to accept it. The Parliament by that Act, intended not onely an Oblivion of the offences of the aforsaid Party, whereby they had rendred themselves obnoxious, but that this kindnesse should be answered with obedience on their part, and produce a real change in their principles and interest, as to the common cause this great Contest had been about, for otherwise this Act cannot be considered as obligatory to those who gave it: And in this case Forbearance from outward action will not avail, nor intitle to the benefit of the Pardon, if yet there be malice and revenge in the heart, and such a leaning and adhering to the old interest, that nothing is wanting for the discovery therof, but a fitting opportunity; for as such men cannot in Justice and Ingenuity claim the benefit of an Act of Favour from that Supream Magistrate, to whom they know themselves to be Enemies, so neither is that Magistrate bound in Justice before God or Men to give it to them, if he hath reason to believe from the course of their Conversations that they are such, and that their Intentions towards the Government under which they live, are the same, as when they were in open Arms against it, and is at Liberty to carry himself towards them, as if no such Act had been; Nay, He may proceed against them with greater severity, in as much as he hath used the last means to reclaim them without fruit, and knows by experience, That nothing but the Sword will restrain them from blood and violence.

Then if this be the Case between Us and the late Kings Party, to wit, That they have notoriously manifested it to the consciences of all men, that they do not only retain their old Principles, and still adhere to their former interest in direct opposition to the Government established, but have been all along hatching new disturbances, and endeavouring as well by secret and bloody Assassinations, as by open force, to introduce the one, and overthrow and subvert the other; It will not be thought strange upon any account whatsoever, that We did lately secure so many of the men of that Interest, although they were not visibly in Arms upon the late Insurrection; nor that We have laid a burden upon some of their Estates, beyond what is imposed upon the rest of the Nation, towards the defraying of that Charge which they are the occasion of, with some other things which We have found necessary in this time of Danger to direct concerning them, for the Peace and Safety of the whole.

How to evince this, though the Walks of Conspirators, who are a sly and secret Generation of men, are ever in the Dark, and the measure of all

their

their Feet cannot be exactly taken and compared, yet many of their steps having been discovered through the goodnesse of the all-seeing God, We shall set down such part thereof as may be of use to make publique.

We shall not particularly mention some underhand, and very secret Contrivances which they had, and made some Trial of; whereby they would have insensibly wound themselves into that power, which they were not able to do by open force; But that way not taking, they then betook themselves to Counsels of raising a new War, and designing a generall Insurrection throughout the Nation.

And to ripen those Resolutions, some persons were sent from hence to *Charls Stuart*, with Letters of Credit, and a considerable Sum of Money (the better to gain belief) to give him assurance, That the reasons why the Nobility and Gentry, and bulk of the Kingdom of *England*, which (they said) were Episcopall, and of his former Party, did not rise with him upon his late March from *Scotland*, was, because he was believed to have gone upon grounds disagreeable both to their affections and Interests, and also to the good of the Nation, and inconsistent with the antient Constitutions both of Church and State, but that if he would return to his former principles, to wit, To cast himself totally upon his Old Party, they would venture both their lives and fortunes for his Recovery.

This being received with great acceptance, and the design resolved upon, the management thereof was to be as followeth.

A Council was chosen of a select number, called by the name of a *Sealed Knot*, who were for the most part to reside in, and about *London*, and to keep and maintain Correspondencies with those of their Party beyond Sea, and within the severall parts of the Nation, and communicate the mutuall Advices, Counsels, Orders and Resolutions of each other, which were necessary for such an undertaking. And there were three things which were chiefly designed by them in this businesse.

1. To prepare and engage every individuall man of their own party, who had either been in the former Wars, or had been a friend thereto, or was likely by reason of his alliance, breeding, or discontents, to engage therein; who being engaged were to bring all their Tenants, and those who depended upon them, and also to lay Designs for the possessing of Garrisons and Strong-holds.

2. To raise a considerable Bank of Money to be employed for buying of Arms, defraying other expences incident to the management of such a business, and for the maintenance of Forces, as occasion should be; and

for

for this one hundred thousand pounds was propounded for *England* alone, besides what was to be had in *Wales*; for the raising whereof, privy Seals were to be sent to severall persons in *England*.

3. During the carrying on of this Affair, *Charls Stuart* was to be maintained, and therefore a constant Contribution of Money was to be endeavoured from such of his Friends as were able; and this latter was so well prosecuted by those Agents which were imployed therein, that he hath had many thousand pounds a year paid him from hence for these three years past. The two other things were to be carryed on, and managed by the said *Sealed Knot*, and such Agents as went between him and his Friends here.

But as previous hereunto, and to make their Work the more easie and uninterrupted, and the Design they had thus engaged in, the more sure in the execution (which they could not in reason but apprehend to have many difficulties in it, whilest the Nation was in perfect peace, and so much inclined to settlement and rest, as being weary of the former Commotions, that whosoever should begin new troubles upon any pretences whatsoever, would be lookt upon as a Common Enemy, and might possibly finde the generality of the Nation so far from joyning with them, that they might declare the contrary way; As also whilest the Army was in an united Posture, and under its ancient Conduct, it would be difficult for them to rise, without being suppresst, before they should be able to imbody in any such considerable number, as might give countenance and protection to such as should joyn themselves with them) They concluded some things to be effected, as preceding to, or at least contemporary with the Generall *Insurrection*.

One was the Assassination of particular persons, thereby to beget great Confusions and Contests, and give opportunity for all the Kings Party to rise. There was one *Fitz-James* went from hence to the late Kings eldest Son, upon this account, then at *Paris*, and had a summe of Money given him to promote that attempt, but he and *John Gerard* afterwards joyned in that Design, the particulars whereof have been heretofore published; whereto We shall onely adde what is since more fully come to Our knowledge, (to make it manifest that it was not the heady and rash resolution of *Gerard* himself, but that it was a part of the Design laid by the pretended King, and of those who have the Conduct of his Affairs) That he himself spake to both *Fitz-James* and *Gerard* concerning it, and did not onely approve thereof, but declared, that he looked upon it as a most necessary, if not the onely means to set all his other Designs on Motion; It's true, he

 refused

refused to speak with Major *Huntam*, who went to *Paris* about the same time, or a little before, concerning the Design, and conferred with Prince *Rupert* concerning it, by means of one *Crosby* a French-man: the Prince communicated it to *Charls Stuart*, who approved of the Under-taking, and resolved to speak with him thereof; but advertisement coming from *England*, in the mean time that *Huntam* was sent from hence and imployed to *Paris* to abuse them there, he refused afterwards to see him, but relyed on *Gerard* and *Fitz-James*, to whom he gave precise Directions, that they should not make their Attempt till all his Friends were ready in *England*. There was also one *Boswell*, and also one *Peters*, and severall other persons imployed at other times for those Assassinations, and had laid the place and manner of execution, and the means whereby to attempt it; all the particulars whereof would be too large to set down, as it would the severall gracious Providences of God in the disappointing of them.

Another part of their design was, to work upon the severall discontented humours which they observed to be stirring in the Nation, imploying fitting Instruments, who might from a true observation of their spirits and principles, fall in with all manner of discontented Parties, and by proper mediums heighten and blow up their discontents, and provoke them to a Rupture, laying this for their Maxim, *Divide & impera*, the more Parties they could make, the greater confusions they could bring forth, the easier would their work be: And therefore some they set up, who might abuse one sort of men, and draw them into discontents, upon pretences of Liberty, and the rights of the free-born People of *England*, which they supposed were infringed by keeping up an Army, and by inforcing Taxes from them, and by not calling a free and equal Representative, chosen by all the People; and upon this subject, there was scarce a day but some Pamphlet or other came forth in Print, called Declarations, Penned, Printed and Published by the Kings Party, some whereof are now in prison, who appeared not in it themselves, but imployed other Instruments. And they found *John Wildman*, and some others of the like Principles, most fitting Instruments for managing that part, of crying for Liberty, as those who might do it (as they imagined) without the least suspition of being thought to correspond therein with the old Enemy, or of having intentions to promote his Cause & Interest. And therefore these were to carry on a design, which should in outward appearance be different from the other, (although in truth it came from the same root, and was directed to the same end) and to this purpose they had continuall meetings with such as they judged to be like themselves, and of the same mind with them; And though they

themselves had turned their backs upon that Profession of Christ and the Gospel, which they had once made, and were become loose in their Conversation, and Antichristical in their Principles; yet they found means, by reason of their having been engaged on this Part, to insinuate into, communicate with, and deeply influence some particular persons, otherwise (as We hope) well-minded, to design against the Government, partly upon pretences of Liberty, and partly upon supposition of having a more pure Administration of things; Upon which subject likewise many Papers were printed and dispersed at the same time, and many others were in preparation.

And *Wildman* had brought his part to such maturity, that he wanted very little but the open declaring himself in Arms, having in effect finished the Declaration which was to be published upon that occasion, as appears by the Declaration it self, but it pleased God to prevent it by his sudden and unexpected apprehension, with his Declaration before him, just as he was dictating to his Servant the conclusion thereof, and the time that he should have declared himself, did fully answer the Rising designed by the Royal-Party, which fell out but a few days after.

Another thing which the Enemy had laid as necessary, at least to keep company with their intended Insurrection, was, That part of the Army in *Scotland* should have mutinied, surprized their Generals, thrown off their Officers, and marched up to *London* under the command of Major General *Overton* (who was designed for that purpose) leaving the rest of the Army there, already under great discouragement, by reason of their late hard service, and for want of pay, to be devoured by the *Scots*, and also Forts and Garrisons lately erected at the vast charge of this Commonwealth, to be posest by them, there being no possibility left of sending them timely and seasonable Supplies, in such times of trouble as must necessarily ensue such actings; And those who were made use of to bring this to pass, were the *Levellers*, and also some others, who did not (as we hope) intend to serve the interest of *Charls Stuart*. But it is clear, that they were influenced and driven on by them, being made to believe by the Emissaries of the pretended King (Wolves in Sheeps clothing) that that part of the Army designed for the Revolt, would under the conduct aforelaid, do much for the carrying on their business, not foreseeing, that the Army being thus divided and engaged against it self, It may be, even to blood, would become a prey to the Enemy, and yield up this *Glorious Land*, and the good People of this Land, into their hands. These were some of those Methods which Our Enemies made use of to prepare their way to their grand Design; others they had of lesser moment, which We shall not spend Our time in rehearsing;

ing; nor shall We in more serious terms lay to their charge, the swarming of those Jesuits which are now croaking amongst Us, turning themselves into all Forms and shapes, to deceive and seduce men from the Truth, according as they find the bents, inclinations and principles of men to be.

It is not only commonly observed, but there remains with Us somewhat in proof, That Jesuits have been found amongst some discontented Parties of this Nation, who are observed to quarrel and fall out with every form of Administration either in the Church or State. Whether these Emissaries of the Church of *Rome* are come hither by counsel from *Charls Stewart*, We will not now examine; This is certain, as the continual Troubles and Disturbments occasioned by his Party here, opens the door for the entrance in of those unclean Spirits; So his Agents make use of them to advance one part of his work, to wit, The fomenting and maintaining of Parties and Factions amongst Us.

And that they might the better know what directions to give, and what means they were to use from time to time, for influencing the aforesaid Parties, and arriving at their Ends, these following Instructions were given, amongst other things, to some of their *Agents*.

They were to inform themselves,

1. *What the present Strength of the Army in* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland *is? by whom Commanded? who have the chief Interest in them, and how they and their Officers are affected?*

2. *What are the principal Garrisons, especially Ports? how manned, and of what Strength, and which are the easiest to be gained, either by Force, or Treaty?*

3. *What the present Strength is at Sea, and how intended to be settled for the future?*

4. *What the constant Revenues, and constant Expences of the Commonwealth are? how much the one exceeds the other? and if the Expences be greater, by what means the Overplus is supplied?*

5. *What is the condition of Trade, whether much decayed? and what Consequences that may draw?*

6. *Whether the Protector be absolute in his power, or forced to consult with others? who are his chiefest Friends or Enemies, and who have at present the greatest Power in* England? *how the People and Army stand affected to the new Government, and Person of the Protector?*

7. *What Parties and Factions are among them? what their Strength, principles and inclinations as to the present Government, or a Communion with the King? and who are their chief Leaders?*

8. *What*

8. *What be the present Designs of the Protector, and the governing Party, as to War or Peace with foreign Nations?*

9. *What is done in* England *or* Scotland *towards the Reduction of the Kings Party in the Highlands?*

These Instructions do further shew what that Party was doing here amongst Us.

Whilest these Engines were at work, the Enemy doth all they can to ripen their design of a *General Rising*, that all might be ready at once; Agents to that purpose are employed in the several parts of the Nation, and every ones particular station appointed to them; some were for the West, others for the North, others for the East, others for *Surry*, *Kent*, *&c.* and others for *Wales*; their work was to speak with such persons as were likely to joyn with them, and if they accepted, to acquaint them with what Resolutions were taken for the carrying on the Design, and the time for the execution thereof, with what else related thereto.

One chief part thereof was upon the City of *London*, where great endeavours were used to engage the Youth, Apprentices, and common sort of men, who might be able to raise combustions, by firing the City or otherwise, thereby to prevent their appearing in Arms against them.

Privy Seals were sent unto several persons for raising of Money for managing this Work, and Treasurers appointed for receiving the same, and several very considerable Sums paid in, a part whereof was discovered, and seized upon.

Great quantities of Arms, and other Provisions of War, especially for Horsemen, were bought; many whereof were sent into the respective Counties, and lodged in the hands of persons engaged in this Design; some We seized upon in the Country, and some in their Magazine in *London*; Commissions were also sent in great numbers from *Charls Stuart*, and delivered to several of his Party, to raise Horse and Foot. Besides, they had been soliciting Forreign Princes to give them assistance of Men and Money to invade this Country; whom, although they found not very forward in undertaking any such Enterprize, until some Sea-Town of strength could be put into their hands, yet they did procure some sums of Money from them; and were not without good Assurances of further Aid both of Men and Money, when they could secure them a place of Landing and Retreat.

Things being thus prepared, and a full accompt thereof given to their pretended King, although he was very desirous to have come attended with some Forreign Aids, yet seeing his Party to be in so good a readiness, he encouraged them to proceed to the Execution; and promised them to be

in some convenient place not far distant, at such time as they should let him know the particular Day agreed upon by them for making their attempt, to come over hither, as he should finde his opportunity. The Letter he writ to his party upon this occasion, is as followeth:

YOu will easily believe, that I am very well pleased to hear how carefull and solicitous you are for my Concernments, and of the course you resolve to take. The truth is, I have been so tender of my Friends, that I have deferred to call upon them to appear, till I could find my self able to give them good Encouragement from abroad: but since I find that comes on so slowly, I will no longer restrain those Affections which I most desire to be beholding to; and I have reason to believe, That if they who wish one and the same thing, knew each others minde, the Work would be done without any difficulty; and if there were any handsome Appearance in any one place, the rest would not sit still; and I am perswaded I should then finde Supplies from those, who are yet afraid to offer them: However, I am sure I would my self be with those who first wished for me, and to that purpose, I will keep my self within a reasonable distance. Consult with those you dare trust, and if you are ready, agree upon a time, and you cannot promise your selves any thing that you will be disappointed in, and which is in the power of

16. July, 1654.

Your Affectionate Friend
CHARLES R.

After the receipt of this Letter, their Affairs grew apace unto a ripeness, and they found their Party so unanimously and universally resolved, and every thing so agreeable to their wishes, that (as severall of the persons acknowledged afterwards upon their Examinations) they thought it impossible for Us, though they should fully acquaint Us with the whole Contrivements, to prevent their Designs. And now, whereas some of them were of opinion, that they should take in some persons who had been for the Parliament, and were discontented, to make their Busines the surer; it was denied by others of them, upon this Reason, That seeing they had no need of them, as their Affairs now stood, it would be prejudiciall to his Majesties Service, and their common Interest, to take in Persons whom they should afterwards be troubled to be rid of: by which may be seen, the confidence they had of the successe of their undertaking.

As for the time of executing what had been in their apprehension thus surely laid, they varied their Counsels in that particular, according as they found

found the opportunities for the same to be more or less advantageous. They once resolved to take the occasion of Horse-Races, which they had appointed in severall places for that purpose; whither they and their Servants should have come well Horsed and Armed, & so have declared themselves; but they were prevented therein by the Prohibition of Horse-Races.

Another time which was by them agreed upon (although they were somewhat impatient of so long stay, was at the rising of the last Parliament;) for observing that a great part of the Army was insisted upon in Parliament to be disbanded, (a thing most desired by (as of most use to) the Enemy, who concluded, That if the Army was down, nothing else could stand in their way:) And that We were not likely in reason to consent thereto, in respect of the knowledge We had of their whole Design, severall Persons being then apprehended, as guilty of that Contrivance, and divers Arms seized on in the hands of their Factors, they did hope by improving that, and severall other opportunities of discontent, which might fall out during that time, that the Parliament might rise with dissatisfaction, by the means whereof, their Design would be much advanced, and therefore got all things in readinesse against such a Juncture of Affairs. But it having pleased God to make some further notable discovery to Us of this Conspiracy, and of the particular Persons engaged therein; the seizing of some of them both here, and in the severall Countreys, together with the bringing over Three thousand Foot, and Six hundred Horse out of *Ireland*, did prevent them at that time, and in a great measure disheartned their Party, to see many of them secured, who were relied upon for the Management of this Affair.

But *Charles Stuart* having, according to his promise, removed himself from *Cullen* into *Zealand*, on purpose to attend this Rising, and to come hither in Person, so soon as he should understand that it took effect according to his desires; and the Lord *Wilmot*, Major General *Wagstaff*, *O Neal*, and severall others of that Party, being come actually over hither to Conduct and Lead the Design, and appointed to their severall Posts in the Nation, they agreed to make their Attempt upon the twelfth of *March* 1654. which they did accordingly.

And observing that the Body of the Army, especially the Foot, lay about *London*, they designed to rise first in the West, *Wales*, the North, and other Remote parts of the Nation, hoping thereby to draw the Army, or a great part of it, from hence; whereupon, *Kent*, *Surrey*, and their Party in *London* were to rise, and so make themselves, not only Masters of the City, but form them into considerable Bodies. By the persons they had engaged,

they

they reckoned upon Eight thousand in the North, and not fewer out of the West; and the number which should rise in these parts, when the Army should have left it, to exceed both. The Garrisons and strong places they intended first to surprize and seize upon, were *Portsmouth*, *Plymouth*, *York*, *Hull*, *Newcastle*, *Tinmouth*, *Chester*, *Shrewsbury*, *Yarmouth*, *Lyn*, and *Boston*; as also to possesse themselves of the Isle of *Ely*. The Forces in the West were to have been Commanded by the Duke of *Yorke*; those in the North by the Lord *Wilmot*, whom they call the Earl of *Rochester*.

What issue it pleased the Lord to bring this great and generall Design to, no man is ignorant of.

The Insurrection in the West was bold and dangerous in it self, and had in all likelihood increased to great Numbers of Horse and Foot by the conjunction of others of their own Party, besides such Forreign Forces, as in case of their successe, and seizing upon some place of Strength, were to have landed in those parts, had they not been prevented by the motion of some Troops, and diligence of the Officers in apprehending divers of that Party a few dayes before, and also been closely pursued by some of Our Forces, and in the conclusion suppress by a handfull of men, through the great goodnesse of God.

That of *Yorkshire*, which the Enemy most relied upon, fell far short of their expectation, in respect that Our Forces by their marching up and down in the Countrey, and some of them providentially, at that time, removing their Quarters near to the place of Rendezvouz, gave them no opportunity to assemble; and therefore those of them which came to the Rendezvouz at *Hessam-moor*, under the Conduct of the Lord *Wilmot*, with an intention to surprize *York*, and so formed themselves into an Army, separated and run away in great Confusion and Disorder, as did also those who were rendezvouzed near *Morpeth* to surprize *Newcastle*, being by the same Providence disappointed, by the coming of Three hundred Foot from *Berwick*, ordered thither for the security of that place.

Those in *North-Wales* and *Shropshire*, part of which were designed to surprize and possesse *Shrewsbury* Town and Castle; some of the Chief Persons being discovered and apprehended, the rest fled.

At *Rufford-Abey* in *Nottinghamshire* was another place appointed for a Rendezvouz, where about Five hundred Horse met, and had with them in the Field a Cart-load of Horse-Arms, to arm such as should come to them; but upon a sudden, a great Fear fell upon them, insomuch that they left their Arms in the open Field, and every man shifted for himself. There were

were other ſmaller parties, as in the Town of *Cheſter*, who deſigned the ſurprize of the Caſtle there, and alſo in *Staffordſhire*, with divers other places in the Nation; but they failing in their expectations, were diſcouraged for that time.

And thus, by the goodneſs of God, firſt diſcovering and bringing to light theſe hidden Works of Darkneſſe, and afterwards in putting Fear into the Hearts of theſe men, (that their Hands could not execute what they had contrived) the greateſt and moſt dangerous Deſign, not only for the involving Us in Blood and Confuſion here at Home, but expoſing of Us unto the Will of Forreigners, hath been defeated and brought to nothing; and this cruel and bloody Enemy, put under as great and ſignal Diſappointments, as any Age can produce an example of; it being a thing they had ſet their hearts upon, and was the Work of almoſt Four years contrivement.

And now all men would have expected, that either through the ſenſe of Gods hand anew lifted up againſt them, or the other Diſcouragements they have met with in this their grand Undertaking; they would have been weary of any further Attempts of this kind, and have forſaken that Cauſe and Intereſt, which hath brought ſo many of them to ruine: But ſo little hath theſe things wrought upon them, that ſome of them, when they ran away from their Rendezvouz, did it with a reſolution to take a better opportunity, when the Government, in confidence of the preſent Succeſſe, ſhould be ſecure and leſſe aware of them; and they are at this very day at work upon other Deſigns, both here and in *Scotland*, and are endeavouring to procure Supplies of Men and Money from Forreign States, to begin new Troubles and Rebellions amongſt Us; ſome Agents being ſent from hence for that purpoſe this laſt Summer.

We ſhall not need to make any Application of what hath been ſaid, it is plain to every one that is not blinded with prejudice, That theſe men are reſtleſſe in their Deſigns, and are the cauſes of all our Trouble and Unſettlement, and will leave no ſtone unturned, to render vain and fruitleſſe, all that Blood which hath been ſpilt to reſtore Our Liberties; and the hopes We have conceived of ſeeing this poor Nation ſetled and reformed, from that Spirit of Prophaneneſs which theſe men do keep up and countenance in contempt of all Law and Authority; And therefore We thus argued, That unleſſe We would give up the Cauſe ſo long contended for, and the Lives, Liberties and Comforts of all the Well-affected of theſe three Nations into their hands, or leave them expoſed to their continuall Attempts, the Peace and common Concernments of this Commonwealth, muſt be otherwiſe ſecured and provided for, then at preſent they were; That this was not

to be done without raising Additionall Forces; That the Charge of those Forces ought not to be put upon the good People, who have born the heat and burthen of the day, but upon those who have been, and are the occasion of all Our danger.

Upon these Grounds, We have been necessitated to erect a new and standing *Militia* of Horse in all the Counties of *England*, under such Pay as might be without burthen to the peaceable and Well-affected, and be a fitting Encouragement to the Officers and Soldiers, that they might not go to War at their own charge; And therefore We have thought fit to lay the burthen of Maintaining of these Forces, and some other Publique Charges which are occasioned by them, upon those who have been engaged in the late Wars against the State, having respect notwithstanding therein to such of them, as are not able to undergo that Charge.

It may perhaps be esteemed great severity, to Tax the whole Party, when there hath been, in respect of the general number, but few convicted by Triall, or detected by Testimonies to have been in those Designs.

It is true, the Proofs and Testimonies do not extend to charge every individuall man, which will fall under this burthen, with any explicite acting, contriving, or designing for the disturbance of the Peace; if that had been the Case, their whole Estates, by the ordinary Proceedings of the Law, had been confiscate: But We do appeal to all indifferent men, who will weigh and consider the preceding Narrative, and the Contexture, Frame, and Circumstances of this Design. Whether the Party were not generally involved in this Busines, and in reason to be charged with it.

It is certain, here was the Cause and Quarrel of the pretended King, once more brought upon the stage by his Followers, who for that purpose was come into the *Low-Countreys*, ready to embarque for *England*, upon the first notice of Success, which no man will believe he would have put himself upon in the Eye and Face of the World, if those who shewed themselves in Arms, were to have no other Seconds then what appeared; nor will it be imagined, that those of his Party, who came over hither upon that Errand, as the Lord *Wilmot* and *Wagstoff*, and others, would have run so great hazard upon so weak Grounds: Or, that those Gentlemen who did actually rise, could suppose that the Army then in being, would be so easily over-run, with much more considerable Forces then were visible; Neither can it be presumed, that the persons chiefly relyed upon for the Conduct and Management of this Affair, and who doubtless want no credit with that Party, would have entred into this Engagement alone.

Great Sums of Money are collected, and sent over to the pretended King, and

and furniſht alſo for this Deſign, which We cannot think came out of a few hands.

At this time this Party were obſerved to be together, to keep their Meetings apart from others, to withdraw themſelves in their ordinary converſation, and to carry it with more then a uſuall confidence againſt the Well-affected of the Nation, as men under great hopes of a ſudden Change, which many of them did not forbear to make their boaſts of.

The time when this Attempt was made, is likewiſe obſervable, It was when nothing but a well-formed Power could hope to put Us into diſorder; *Scotland* and *Ireland* being perfectly reduced, Differences with moſt Neighbor Nations compoſed, our Forces both by Sea and Land in order and conſiſtency; The firſt budding of theſe Imbroilments ſeaſonably detected, and many of the engaged perſons apprehended, notice given of the enſuing Danger to the whole Nation, Forces then drawn from *Scotland* and *Ireland*, for the diſanimation of theſe Contrivances; and yet after all this, the wakefull Eye of an Army, of whoſe virtue there had been ſome proof in times paſt, could by no means diſcourage them from proceeding in this Attempt, nor fruſtrate this Riſing in ſeveral parts of the Nation at one and the ſame time: Theſe things alone are enough to ſatisfie, that theſe Troubles were the fruit of great deliberation and conſent, and that they fel not out by chance or as the raſh Undertakings of ſome few inconſiderable perſons; But we need not ſpend time upon this ſubject, believing that every one doth readily concur with Us, That this Deſign was general, and levelled againſt all thoſe who had upon any account whatſoever adhered to, and owned this Cauſe.

This being then the Caſe, We have in our own Judgement ſuch clear and convincing Grounds, to juſtifie Our Proceedings with thoſe men which could ſcarcely be expected in caſes of ſecret Treaſons and Conſpiracies; a bare Correſpondency wherein, hath been alwayes accounted Capital: And if the Supream Magiſtrate were in theſe Caſes tyed up to the ordinary Rules, and had not a Liberty to proceed, upon Illuſtrations of Reaſon, againſt thoſe who are continually ſuſpected, there would be wanting, in ſuch a State, the means of common Safety; Conſpiracies could never be prevented nor avoyd the Precipitations of Our Enemies from one miſchievous Deſign to another, ever hurt them.

Beſides, admit that ſome of that Party were as innocent, as they would now have it believed they were, enough hath been done by their Fellows in a common Cauſe (which hardly any of them know how to diſown, which they love, and of which they glory) to draw the whole Party under a juſt Suſpition, and the conſequences thereof: All that are peaceably minded in the Nation are ready to ſay, Theſe are the men of whom we go in danger, and certainly it is both juſt and neceſſary, that all thoſe of whom the People have reaſon to be afraid (not only as their profeſt Enemies, but alſo numerous) ſhould pay for ſecuring the State againſt that Danger which they are the Authors of.

And former times have held this way of Proceeding juſt and reaſonable, of which We could give many pregnant Inſtances, as wel in this as in other Nations, ſome of which were done in the memory of ſeverall perſons now living: And the reaſon why States may proceed in this manner, is, becauſe that which

is intended to be Exemplary, for the ſatisfying men from ſuch Attempts for the future, will not otherwiſe be proportionable to the danger of the paſt Offence, and ſo the Publique Power can never be ſecure, whoſe Safety is the Peoples, but will be alwayes expoſed to the ſame miſchief and hazards.

It is a trouble to Us to be ſtill rubbing upon the old Sore, diſobliging thoſe whom we hoped time and patience might make friends; but we can with comfort appeal to God, and dare alſo to their own Conſciences, whether this way of proceeding with them, hath been the matter of Our Choice, or that which We have ſought an occaſion for; or whether, contrary to Our own inclinations, and the conſtant courſe of Our Carriage towards them (which hath been to oblige them by kindneſſe to forſake their former Principles, which God hath ſo often, and ſo eminently born witneſſe againſt) We have not been conſtrained and neceſſitated hereunto, and without the doing whereof, We ſhould have been wanting to our Duty to God and theſe Nations.

That Character of Difference between them and the reſt of the People, which is now put upon them, is occaſioned by themſelves, not by Us; There is nothing they have more induſtriouſly laboured in then this, to keep themſelves ſeparated, and diſtinguiſht from the Well-affected of this Nation: To which end they have kept their converſation apart, as if they would avoid the very beginnings of Union, have bred and educated their Children by the ſequeſtred and ejected Clergy, and very much confined their Marriages and Alliances within their own Party, as if they meant to entail their Quarrel and prevent the means to reconcile Poſterity; which with the great pains they take upon all occaſions to leſſen and ſuppreſs the Eſteem and Honor of the Engliſh Nation, in all their Actions and Undertakings abroad, ſtriving withal to make our Nations diſtinguiſh their Intereſt from it, gives us ground to judge that they have ſeparated themſelves from the Body of the Nation; and therefore we leave to all mankinde to judge, whether we ought not to be timely jealous of that Separation, and to proceed ſo againſt them, as they may be at the charge of thoſe Remedies which are required againſt the Dangers they have bred.

But if there be yet any Perſon that hath been of that Party, who will be exempted from our Confederacy, and the inconveniencies depending thereupon, that can ſay in truth he hath changed his Intereſt, was wholly free from the aforeſaid Deſign, and can ſhew by good works preceding the late Inſurrection, a diſclaimer of his former courſe and converſation, (the ſureſt Characters in this caſe of a perſon ſatisfied with the trouble of the time paſt, and meaning for the future to live quietly) upon making it appear he ſhal be dealt with according to his integrity; Or if any of that Party, being yet ſenſible of the Error of their way, ſhal change and forſake their former Intereſt, and give real Demonſtrations thereof, We ſhal much more eſteem of their Reformation, then deſire their harm or prejudice. In the mean time, We do aſſure our ſelves, that the good and well-affected of the Land, for whoſe ſake We have chiefly publiſhed theſe things, that they may know the Grounds on which We do proceed towards their Preſervation, will receive Encouragement hereby, and enjoy with love and Unity amongſt themſelves, the Fruits and Effects of that common Intereſt which they have long purſued, and not ſuffer themſelves to be divided by any artifices whatſoever, into Parties and Factions one againſt the other, whereof the Enemy hath made great advantages, to keep us from that Settlement and Reformation, which every good man longs for, and the want whereof doth greatly provoke the Lord againſt us.

FINIS.